

PRODUCTION AND PROFITS  
IN THE BYZANTINE PROVINCE  
OF ITALY (TENTH TO  
ELEVENTH CENTURIES):  
AN EXPANDING SOCIETY

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The following paper is substantially the same as that delivered at the Symposium on "Art, Letters, and Society in Byzantine Provinces," held at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1973.

THERE is a well-known type of student who seems to be paralyzed in his studies by his conscientiousness: when he reads a book or listens to a lecture he takes notes on each reference and so is indefinitely drawn to new readings, which carry him off the main track. Usually, he fails his examination because he has views on too many things; yet, he is right. When it is no longer a question of presenting to the teacher the conventional, simplified, limited truth which is expected of a good candidate, our student will reap the results of his efforts; in fact, it will be enough for him to know how to control and dominate all his information which, in the words of the famous Dutch historian Huizinga, will allow him "to be on the alert." As a matter of fact, the problem for a historian who wants to have a panoramic, but also well-grounded, view of any specific period, is how to preserve the interdependence of all the human facts within the spatial-temporal complex he investigates; and whatever the philosophy dominating his research, he must not be fearful of calling upon inspiration and luck, concentrating less on the discovery of one primordial factor, and more on the search for a whole.<sup>1</sup>

The question I have, therefore, asked myself, within the scope of the subject chosen by Professor Ševčenko, is this: Can we work out a connection, and, if we can, what sort of connection, between the social and economic life and the spiritual or intellectual life of the Byzantine province of Italy (see fig. 1) in the tenth to the eleventh century? In searching for an answer, I shall refer to some sources which are yet to be published or whose message has remained unclear until now.

Since research on the consumption and on the level of life, or on the state of health of the population in the Italian katepanate is lacking, I cannot consider here negative items of production, such as corn, or items for which we do not have any quantitative indication, such as wood, salt, silver, or oil. As for corn and oil, all I can say is that they were exported to Constantinople,<sup>2</sup> which does not necessarily indicate overproduction. I shall consider only two products: wine and silk.

Vineyards extended as far as did ploughed land in the three *themata* of Byzantine Italy; they flourished especially in earth with sandy sediments or loose conglomerates and calcareous disaggregation. Vines grew especially on the hillsides, and could be found even higher than eight hundred meters. The chronicles, the archives, and the *Lives* of saints are unanimous on this point. An incident related in the *Life* of St. Nilus (†1004) by one of his followers will serve to illustrate my argument. In order to appreciate its significance we must remember that this text, written by one of the Saint's disciples, probably

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Romein in *L'histoire et ses interprétations. Entretiens autour de A. Toynbee, sous la direction de R. Aron*, Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes—Sorbonne—6<sup>e</sup> section: Sciences économiques et sociales (Paris-The Hague, 1961), 123–26.

<sup>2</sup> *Anonymi Barenensis Chronicon (56–1043)*, RerItalSS, V (Milan, 1724), 151, 153.

a monk of Grottaferrata, is one of the most important Byzantine sources for the first half of the eleventh century, thanks to its literary value and to the variety of the historical information it contains.<sup>3</sup> The story runs as follows: "In order to distract them from their inclination toward earthly thoughts [the reference is to the monks of the monastery of St. Adrian, founded by Nilus, near Rossano, in the Calabrian theme] and train them to prefer submission to life itself, he did something else which is also worth remembering. . . . One day, after the morning liturgy service, the great man said to all the assembled monks: 'Fathers, we planted many vines, which for us are a surplus because we have more than what we need. Let us cut some of them and keep only what we need.' When he saw that they all agreed to his words, he slung a hatchet over his shoulder and went to the most flourishing part of the vineyard, and they all followed behind him without saying a single word . . . and, after saying a prayer, they cut from morning until the third hour. . . . The event became widely known even on the Holy Mountain [Mt. Athos] and in Sicily, and nobody was able to understand the reason for it: some people said the monks were drunk, others that it resulted from an outburst of temper on the part of the abbot, still others that they owned too many vines and could not cope with the work. This is not surprising, for even the people who cut them [the vines] did not know why they did it, except for those to whom the great man revealed the mystery."<sup>4</sup> With the embellishments characteristic of the literary style of hagiography, the text tells us clearly that the monastery produced more wine than was needed for the support of the monks, and also that the cutting of vines seemed an extravagance. We know, on the other hand, that the product of a vineyard was certain to be profitable, since a Calabrian landowner who gave to the cathedral of Oppido part of his inheritance added to it a portion of the annual income from a flourishing vineyard, out of which the taxes could be paid.<sup>5</sup> Certainly, excessive drinking went on in south Italy during the first half of the eleventh century even in monasteries, but such excess could not have been great enough to consume the entire surplus of vineyard production. Unfortunately, the documentation we have does not allow us to estimate, even roughly, the size of the production, much less the amount of profit; but it proves that a surplus existed.

The question of silk production is different, as is apparent from a document I discovered a few years ago in a private collection in Calabria. This document is a long parchment roll more than seven meters long, now in eleven pieces with missing portions at both the top and bottom, covered with 535 lines of Greek script. The prosopography of this text and the political milieu of the Byzantine theme of Calabria for which it was written make it possible to date it around the year 1050. Because it is the only one of its kind extant,

<sup>3</sup> BHG<sup>3</sup>, no. 1370; cf. A. Garzya, "Note sulla lingua della *Vita* di San Nilo da Rossano," in *Atti del 4º Congresso Storico Calabrese*, Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Calabria (Naples, 1969), 75–84.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Appendix I, pp. 105–6 *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> A. Guillou, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathè (Oppido) (1050–1064/1065)*, Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile. Recherches d'Histoire et de Géographie, 3 (Vatican City, 1972), no. 39, lines 8–10, p. 159.

it is necessary to determine its precise nature before attempting to interpret it historically. I have been able to establish that it is part of a *brebion*, or inventory, an act drawn up regularly by the Byzantine metropolis of Reggio, capital of the Calabrian theme, and containing the amount of the fees the city received from properties belonging to it as well as from properties over which it had rights of economic jurisdiction. I call this particular roll part of Reggio's *brebion*, for the metropolis had two other rolls: one concerned with the fees on cereals (*agrarion*), the other with the fees on wine production (*tryge*). These two other inventories, which are mentioned in our roll, are now lost. The document that has survived is a kind of account book and concerns mulberry trees.

How was it compiled? The writer of the *brebion* uses, mainly, the *periorismoï*, or boundary surveys, of the monasteries and other religious institutions economically dependent on the metropolis which were mentioned in the *brebia* sent there, as prescribed; the writer also uses acts compiled by the metropolitans, containing lists of properties conceded by the metropolis, and acts of officials, containing transfers of property; he uses, further, a census compiled locally by clerks sent, of course, by the metropolis. With respect to the mulberry trees of which he takes a census, the writer makes a distinction between trees that are already full grown and productive and do not need further investment, and trees that are recently planted and too young to be taxable. This kind of distinction could have been made only after an investigation conducted on the spot. There is no doubt about this, if we observe that the amount of the fee is not computed by a simple mathematical operation but changes according to the taxpayers—for, in assessing the tax, wealthier owners were not taxed as much, proportionately, as the less wealthy. Nevertheless, since on the basis of the figures furnished by the document in question it is possible to establish certain averages between tax and production, we must consider our document to be based on concrete facts.

We meet here with exact bookkeeping, indicative of rational management and a specialized staff. Each mulberry tree, or each group of trees, was appraised on the basis of number of bags of leaves (the food of the silkworms) on which the tax owed every year to the metropolis of Reggio was calculated. The result I obtained from our document totals 8,107 mulberry trees, bringing in to the metropolis 2085 gold *taria* or somewhat more than 521 *nomismata* every year.<sup>6</sup>

We must now interpret this result, keeping in mind that it does not give us the complete income for the year 1050, since, as I have said, at least two pieces of the parchment are missing, at top and bottom. The income that the metropolis received from its mulberry trees was very substantial; we must note, moreover, that the *brebion* tells us only of those mulberry trees growing in the south half of Calabria. Let me engage, with extreme caution, in some quantitative history, and make use only of the earliest and also lowest figures

<sup>6</sup> A. Guillou, *Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Région (vers 1050)*, Corpus des actes grecs, 4 (Vatican City, 1974), 3–16, 154.

regarding both the space needed by each tree and its annual production.<sup>7</sup> The following figures will be obtained:

Since one mulberry tree yields 300 kg. of leaves, 1 kg. of seed, 306 kg. of moist cocoons, 102 kg. of dry cocoons, and 25 kg. of raw silk, the 6,425 mulberry trees that are subject to tax, i.e., productive trees, could yield 19,275 q. (quintals) of leaves, 64.25 q. of seed, 19,660 q. of moist cocoons, 6,553 q. of dry cocoons, and 1,606.25 q. of raw silk. On the basis of the average price for silk as given in the Cairo *gheniza* documents of the year 1020 for Sicily<sup>8</sup> (where part of the Calabrian silk production would have been sent), at the price of 2.5 dinars for 328 gr. of silk, the total value would have amounted to 1,254,882.5 dinars. According to calculations made by D. Tamaro, this production represents a cultivated area of 1,500–1,900 ha. and a rate of 3.4 to 4.4 q. per ha., that is to say, 10 percent more than the production of the year 1928 in Calabria.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, taking as a basis the smallest area ever exploited for the cultivation of mulberry trees in Calabria since the sixteenth century (about 6,000 ha.),<sup>10</sup> the resulting estimate reveals that the Calabrian theme, around the year 1050, represented an average production value of 4,000,000 gold dinars.<sup>11</sup>

I believe, however, that we should not postulate similar figures for the production of the two other themes of the katepanate. Of course, we do not have any document comparable to the Reggio inventory either for Lucania or for Longobardia, and before our document was discovered no one had ever suspected this remarkable production for the Calabrian theme. If the complete silence of the sources concerning Lucania corresponds, perhaps, to the nature of the region, covered with woods and not very favorable to the cultivation of mulberry trees, the same cannot be said of Longobardia. And the sources, in this case, may indeed tell us too little. A famous Jewish doctor, Shabbetai (913–985), born in Oria, between Taranto and Brindisi, speaks highly of the quality of the mulberry tree's fruit, whose juice was used in the preparation of certain medicines;<sup>12</sup> wild mulberry trees, one might object, are not ideal

<sup>7</sup> Cf. L. Grimaldi, *Studi statistici sull'industria agricola e manifatturiera della Calabria Ultra II<sup>a</sup>, fatti per incarico della Società economica della provincia* (Naples, 1845), 41–51; F. Marincola S. Floro, *Statuti dell'arte della seta in Catanzaro, preceduti da una relazione fatta alla Camera di Commercio ed Arti sulla origine, progresso e decadenza dell'arte della seta in Catanzaro* (Catanzaro, 1880), 38–39, 45–54, 60–61; D. Tamaro, *Gelsicoltura*, Manuali Hoepli, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Milan, 1928), 6–9, 19, 86–90, 105–6, 274; R. Forlani, *La coltivazione del gelso e gli allevamenti estivi e autunnali del baco da seta* (Bologna, 1936), 34–37, 57–90, 94–98. I would like to thank Mrs. Fanny Bonajuto, who has provided me with a great deal of specific information concerning the raising of silkworms in Northern Italy, information which I found useful as a basis for comparison.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Gheniza*, I (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1967), 102, 222, 223, 445 note 54; A. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, 6<sup>e</sup> section, Centre de recherches historiques: Monnaie, Prix, Conjoncture, 8 (Paris, 1969), 144–45.

<sup>9</sup> Tamaro, *Gelsicoltura*, 6–10.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> By a comparison, this equals approximately the total amount of the land tax which was the main income of the Fatimid treasury at the beginning of the 11th century (Ashtor, *Histoire des prix*, 550–51); also Basil II, at his death (1025), left a reserve in gold of 16,191,710 nomismata, according to A. Andreades' figures (*Les finances byzantines*, in *Ἐργα*, I [Athens, 1938], 442).

<sup>12</sup> R. Shabtai Donnolo, *Le livre précieux*, German trans. M. Steinschneider, "Donnolo. Pharmakologische Fragmente aus dem X. Jahrhundert, nebst Beiträgen zur Literatur der Salernitaner, hauptsächlich nach handschriftlichen hebräischen Quellen," in *Virchow's Archiv für pathologische Anatomie und Physiologie und Klinische Medizin*, 42 (1868), 65.

for the breeding of silkworms. But this would be a hasty conclusion, for the world-wide reputation of Armenian silk, in the same period, was based precisely on the wild mulberry tree.<sup>13</sup> In the year 928, Abû Ahmed Ġa'far ibn 'Ubayd, after sacking Oria, brought back, we are told by an Arab chronicler, "silk cloths with patterns and colors, jewels, and money."<sup>14</sup> Of course, we do not know with any certainty that these cloths were woven in Oria itself, or even that they were made with Longobardian raw silk, for Oria, at that time, traded with the silk centers of the Middle East, thanks especially to its numerous Jewish inhabitants;<sup>15</sup> but the very presence in this city of a Jewish population, which everywhere in the Mediterranean basin specialized in the dyeing of cloths, tempts me to conclude that Oria did indeed produce silk. I shall add that a place name, known from a document of 1042, mount and *kastron Siricolum*, near Montepeloso,<sup>16</sup> on the left bank of the river Bradano, can be explained only by the term *sericum*, *serikon* in Greek, which means raw silk. Again, in the year 1067 I found, mentioned in an act of donation, in Ascoli Satriano at the north end of the theme, a *caia cum serico*, a house having mulberry trees for the production of raw silk.<sup>17</sup> We may assume, therefore, that, as in Calabria, silkworm raising was also practiced in Longobardia, if not as extensively.

Let me return for a moment to the *brebion* of Reggio. I note that the mention of bags of leaves as a basis for the computation of taxes proves that the trees were cultivated for the raising of silkworms, not for their fruit. I note also that the mulberry trees were planted, that is to say, they were not wild, and we can see that the amount of planting increased enormously around the year 1050; as a matter of fact, the *brebion* I discovered reveals that somewhat more than one out of every five trees was not subject to tax, undoubtedly because it was less than ten years old. This means that it still needed investment in manure, watering, and labor<sup>18</sup>—a clear indication of economic resources on the part of the owner, of demographic growth, and of expansion. To return to the figures I cited above, we can presume that in the middle of the eleventh century Calabria had about 20,000 full-grown mulberry trees, and that, less than ten years before, it had planted almost 4,000 new young trees. This investment is clear evidence of the profits which it derived from silk production.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Hauqal († 977), *Kitab Surat-al-Ard* (= *Configuration of the Earth*), introd., trans. with notes and index by J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet (Paris, 1965), 331.

<sup>14</sup> M. Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, II (Turin-Rome, 1881), 27.

<sup>15</sup> J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204*, TFByzNGPhil, 30 (Athens, 1939), 5-7, 27, 28, 44, 56, 60; C. Roth, "Italy," in *Jews in Christian Europe 711-1096*. II: *The Dark Ages*, The World History of the Jewish People, Ser. 2, vol. 2 (London, 1966), 101-5; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I, 101ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Annales Baresnes*, ad annum 1042, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH, SS, 5 (Hannover, 1844), 55.

<sup>17</sup> G. Mongelli, *Abbazia di Montevergine. Regesto delle pergamene*, I (sec. X-XVI), Ministero dell'Interno, Pubbl. degli Archivi di Stato, 25 (Rome, 1956), no. 70, p. 40.

<sup>18</sup> Marincola S. Floro, *Statuti dell'arte della seta*, 7, 45-51; Tamaro, *Gelsicoltura*, 86-90 (cultivation), 140-46 (planting), 214-26 (annual maintenance); Forlani, *La coltivazione del gelso*, 32-90 (importance of irrigation). Hatching and raising of silkworms cover 50 days of work (including trimming of trees): Tamaro, *Gelsicoltura*, 9.

Thus, wine and silk were two profitable factors in the economy of Byzantine Italy during the first half of the eleventh century. Who were the beneficiaries of this profit? Private landowners, ecclesiastical institutions, sees, monasteries or hospices, but, above all others, I believe, the cities themselves.

We should note, first of all, the relatively large number of cities founded in the katepanate under Byzantine rule (Civitate, Dragonara, Fiorentino, Troia, and Mottola in Longobardia, Oppido in Calabria), and of urban centers raised to the rank of sees (Palaiokastron in Longobardia, Cassano, Malvito, and Martirano in Calabria, Marsico in Lucania),<sup>19</sup> a fact which, on the economic level, can only be considered a confirmation of expansion. But it is also important to observe the increase in building activities within the cities, indicating an increase in the population.<sup>20</sup> All of this points to the same conclusion: the cities were growing. I wish to emphasize the significant commercial role of the city during this period. When the katepan Basilios Boioannes, in January 1024, acknowledging the services rendered to the Byzantine Empire by the city of Troia during the attack of the German Emperor Henry II against Longobardia, conferred certain privileges upon it, he included among them the right "of buying and selling in the whole of Longobardia" without having to pay local taxes on the transactions.<sup>21</sup> The cities developed into important commercial centers—a well-known indication of the economic expansion of a country—and were treated as such by the central administration.

This economic maturity of the cities is evidenced before the middle of the eleventh century by the cohesion of their social, and even political, structure in relation to, and together with, the rural area which fed them. Deriving, in its forms of management, from a fiscal territory (the *chorion*) based on the collective responsibility of the population toward the political and administrative power, and gradually developing along with the increasing economic strength of the katepanate, the agro-urban nucleus became a city proper, preserving, however, its human cohesion, inside and outside its walls. The Byzantine state consecrated this evolution by uniting in a single district fortified capital, lesser urban centers, and rural communes, and thus made them a coherent whole.<sup>22</sup> This coherence of the urban center, the first example in the West, the consequences of which might have been considerable, at

<sup>19</sup> Cf. A. Guillou, "L'Italie byzantine du IX<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," in E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, IV (Rome, 1975), in press; *idem*, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathè*, 19–22.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Guillou, "L'Italie byzantine."

<sup>21</sup> Fr. Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum*... (Naples, 1865), 21: *Dedimus eis largitatem hanc ut, ubicumque ipsi* (the inhabitants of Troia, in Byzantine Longobardia) *volunt in tota Longobardia, que est sub nostra potestate, vendere vel emere aliquid*... (1024). The modern Latin translation of the lost Greek text is awkward and inaccurate, but the meaning seems authentic to me; the facts stated, as well as the toponyms, are known, and the reason for a falsification is not demonstrable, contrary to the opinion of Vera von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*, *Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa*, 1 (Wiesbaden, 1967), 181–82.

<sup>22</sup> For the sources, cf. A. Guillou and W. Holtzmann, "Zwei Katepansurkunden aus Tricarico," *Quellen und Forschungen*, 41 (1961), 17 (= *Studies on Byzantine Italy* [London, 1970], VII, 17); A. Guillou, "Notes sur la société dans le katépanat d'Italie au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Mélanges*, 78 (1966), 459–61 (= *Studies on Byzantine Italy*, XIII, 459–61); *idem*, "L'Italie byzantine."



times presented some almost comic aspects, as can be seen from the following incident, which could be entitled "Acts of brigandage among cities in February 1045." The incident is described in a palimpsest, a manuscript in the Escorial, which, until now, had been incompletely and insufficiently edited. This is what we read: "On Tuesday, the twelfth of February, the thirteenth indication, the inhabitants of the cities of Brindisi, Lecce, Otranto, Oria, and their rural communes came to Nardo; there they took a quantity of cloths, animals, and other goods, and also books; in short, they devastated the whole city of Nardo and killed many people; they remained there two days. After these two days came the inhabitants of Gallipoli and its rural communes, and they took everything that was left. Nardo, the source of supply for all the cities and their rural communes, remained, thanks to divine Providence [the text was written in the middle of the thirteenth century], the most prosperous of all for corn, wine, meat, fish, vegetables, and all the other goods."<sup>23</sup> The cities, represented here by their militia, behave as political entities, but whether these expeditions were a form of punishment or were politically motivated I do not know.

In the first half of the eleventh century, within each city two social strata existed, which may indicate an economy based on profit of which they were the main beneficiaries: these two strata consisted of the artisans and of the heads of the great families, who were apparently not afraid to invest their financial reserves in commerce. The resources of the first stratum are evidenced by a little family episode which took place in Bari. A certain woman named Konstantina bought from her adopted son Basil, who was a coppersmith or ironsmith, a plantation, the nature of which remains unspecified, and some plots of land in Palo del Colle, eighteen kilometers from Bari. The plantation failed and the plots reverted to wasteland. Around the years 1030 to 1035, Konstantina, who probably lacked ready cash, rented the plantation and the plots of land to Basil so that he might restore the former to a condition of normal exploitation and convert the wasteland into vineyards; after this, Basil was to be allowed to keep, as his personal property, one third of the whole and return the remaining two thirds to Konstantina. In the archives of the church of the Holy Trinity at Cava dei Tirreni I found the document of apportionment drawn up in the year 1051 between Basil and the son of the deceased Konstantina according to the clauses specified by the woman.<sup>24</sup> This proves that an artisan had enough financial means to restore to good condition, in less than twenty years, lands poorly exploited, and take the place of an average landowner who had become insolvent. His life was directly connected with the prosperity of the town.

The masters and the brains behind this prosperity are the heads of the great local families. At this point, it is necessary to put an end to a myth. When I speak of local families, I am not thinking of Latin families, whose economic prosperity or political role should be considered as an element of

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Appendix II, p. 106-7 *infra*.

<sup>24</sup> Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 47-48.

opposition to the Byzantine government: this point of view, accepted by traditional historians but contradicted by the information furnished by the sources, does not provide a valid explanation for the swift transfer of the katepanate from Byzantine to Norman rule by making of it a form of liberation of an oppressed population. In fact, with respect to a prosperous population composed, depending on the place, of a Latin or a Greek majority, which at the beginning of the eleventh century had more or less assimilated Arab, Slav, Armenian, and Jewish minorities in the cities as well as in the country, we should recall the social climate of Taranto shortly before the year 1053. In this city, where the majority was Greek, two parties fight for power; one, opposed to the Byzantine government, is led by a Basil Chrysocheinos and includes the two sons of a certain Katananges, Eustathios and Leo, the priest in charge of the Greek church of Hagios Akindynos, Byzantios—all bearing Greek names whether or not they were born in Longobardia—as well as the Latin bishop; the other party favors the Byzantines and is led by a man called Genesios, of whom we know that he was born into a Greek family of Taranto and was the administrator of the properties of the Latin cathedral in this city.<sup>25</sup>

The most perfect example of the class of the urban archons is provided by the *curriculum vitae* of Meles and his son Argyros, which I have been able to reconstruct with sufficient precision (for a sequential outline of dates, see Appendix III, p. 108).

Meles, who could be a Latin, was born in Bari. He was a *dynastes*, as we learn from the Greek historian Kedrenos, hence, one of the most powerful men in the city; he dressed in the Greek fashion. He led two revolts of cities in the Longobardian theme against the Byzantine government but failed and took refuge in Germany, where he died.<sup>26</sup>

From the marriage of Meles to a Latin woman, Maralda, Argyros Meles was born at Bari. After the failure of Meles' first revolt, in the year 1011, Maralda and her son were deported to Constantinople by the katepan of Italy. Eighteen years later—in 1029—Argyros went back to Bari, where he must have retrieved his fortune, which, according to law, had been confiscated by the Greek government; for in the year 1040, when new troubles arose in Longobardia, he was at the head of the pro-Byzantine party of Bari and took command of the city and its militia after the departure of the katepan Dokeianos, who had been defeated by the Norman bands. In the year 1042 Argyros was elected, by the Norman bands encamped at the north of the theme and by the militia of Bari, "prince and duke of Italy," a title which had no juridical basis; he took Giovinazzo and besieged Trani. The manifestations of his

<sup>25</sup> Gertrude Robinson, *History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasius of Carbone*. II,1: *Cartulary*, Orientalia Christiana, XV,2 (Rome, 1929), 160–62.

<sup>26</sup> George Kedrenos, *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn (1838–1839), 456; Guillaume de Pouille, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. and trans. Marguerite Mathieu, Istituto Siciliano di Studi bizantini e neoellenici, Testi, 4 (Palermo, 1961), Book I, verses 14–18, p. 100; Amato di Montecassino, *Storia de' Normanni*, Old French version, ed. V. de Bartholomaeis, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, FStI, 76 (Rome, 1935), 32 and note 3.

independence lasted for only a short period, until he received from Constantinople the titles of *patricius* and *vestes*, which restored his legality. He went back to Bari and drove out the Normans from the town. Recalled to Constantinople, in 1045/1046, he went there with his family and received the post of *strategus* of Paphlagonia; he took part in the repression of Tornikios' revolt, was on familiar terms with the Emperor Constantine Monomachus, but at odds with the Patriarch Michael Keroularios. Invested with the title of *magistros* and the office of duke of Italy, that is to say, the highest Byzantine office, in the year 1051, he returned to Bari and headed the fight of the Longobardian cities against the Normans. His failure lay in forming a military alliance between Rome, the Germans, and the troops of the katepanate, an alliance in which he believed; this error was the cause of a new campaign against him by Keroularios in Constantinople. However, he made a treaty with the Germans to obtain their military aid. In the year 1054, at the time of the break between Constantinople and Rome, Argyros' son, who was *vestes*, and his son-in-law, who was a *vestarches*, were imprisoned in Constantinople. The following year, Argyros himself and the Latin archbishop of Bari, Nicholas, were summoned to Constantinople by the Empress Theodora, under pressure from Keroularios. Yet, in 1057, Argyros assumed again his ducal office. During this same year, in order to become an oblate, he donated three thousand *nomismata* to the Latin monastery of St. Mary in Farfa, an imperial German and anti-Roman monastery northeast of Rome, where he resided for a time.<sup>27</sup> He was an active intermediary in the transactions between Rome and Constantinople; an embassy was established, but the Pope died and Argyros went alone to Constantinople (in May of 1058) while the new Pope was negotiating with the Normans. Constantinople appointed his successor in 1060/1061 at the latest; I do not know anything about Argyros' last years, except that he died in 1068 with the title of *proedros*, the reward for a brilliant administrative career.<sup>28</sup> In order to complete my account of this Latin archon

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Appendix IV, p. 109, lines 18–21: copy of the Greek signature of Argyros, which should be restored as follows: + Ἀργυρός προνοία Θεοῦ μάγιστρος βέστης καὶ δοῦξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Καλαβρίας, Σικελίας καὶ Παφλαγονίας, ὁ Μέλης, τὰ προγεγραμμένα βεβαιῶν καὶ δοῦλων (*leg.* δοῦλον) ἑμαυτὸν τί (*leg.* τῇ) Δεσποίνῃ καὶ ἁγία Θεοτόκῳ Μαρίας τῇ ἐν τῇ ἁγία μονῇ τῆς Φάρφου διατρίβων (*leg.* διατρίβων) παραδιδούς, οἰκειοχείρως ὑπέγραψα. "I, Argyros Meles, by divine Providence *magistros*, *vestes*, and duke of Italy, Calabria, Sicily, and Paphlagonia, confirming what has been written above and having dedicated myself as servant to the Virgin Mary, Holy Mother of God, during my stay at [or, my visit to] the holy monastery of Farfon [= Farfa], I have signed by my own hand." The continuation of the chronicle proves that Argyros did not remain in Farfa (see p. 109). I would like to thank Mr. Pierre Toubert, who has provided me with several facts concerning Farfa which were important for the understanding of Argyros' act. The sealing of Argyros' act with a silver seal raises a problem. Argyros, as duke of Italy, had to seal his acts with a lead seal. The silver seal, in the Byzantine Empire, could be used by the brother of the emperor (cf. Liutprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, 56, ed. J. Bekker [Hannover–Leipzig, 1915], 206 [in the year 968]). Did Argyros have a silver seal for private acts? In order to try to delimit this problem of diplomatic, we must remember that non-Greek territories in Italy used silver, not gold.

<sup>28</sup> *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon* (as in note 3 *supra*), 153, reports in the year 1068 the deaths of Argyros *proedros* and of the katepan Apochara (Abulchares, duke of Italy). The latter entry can only refer to that same duke of Italy who is mentioned several times by the same author, and, in all probability, the event occurred in Bari, probably Argyros', and certainly his father Meles', native city and focus of interest of the chronicler. According to a legend related by William of Apulia (Book II, verses 279–83, ed. Mathieu, p. 146), Argyros died in exile (having been exiled from Constantinople to Italy?), ill and in poverty, several years after 1055.

of Greek culture,<sup>29</sup> we should note the fact that he signed all his acts in Greek, even the letter, in Latin, in which he dedicated himself to the Virgin of Farfa.<sup>30</sup>

His fortune must have been considerable, since he was able to give to the Farfa monastery alone, in two separate payments, nine thousand *nomismata* and the silk coat pertaining to the rank of *proedros*, the value of which was estimated at a hundred librae "of the purest silver."<sup>31</sup> This fortune, like the fortune of other archons, consisted of movable property (gold, silk, etc.) and landed estates (plots of land, rented houses), but perhaps also of merchant ships. From the treaty made between the Byzantines and the Venetians in the year 992 concerning the transport of corn, oil, and other goods from Bari or Monopoli to Constantinople,<sup>32</sup> we learn the importance attached by Constantinople to the tradesmen of Bari at the end of the tenth century; but we do not know the names of the ship owners, with one exception: in the year 1067, says a short Latin historical *notitia*, the ships of Peter "de Gira" were seized by the Arabs at the Cape of Malea.<sup>33</sup> Gira is neither a place name nor the name of a person; and I am rather tempted to see in it a deformation of an Argyro(s), and in this Peter a relative of Argyros Meles. This is not, however, too important for our argument. More important for us is to bear in mind that Argyros was not the only representative of his class in Byzantine Italy; I should mention also Andralistos, Byzantios Guirdelicchus, Gocelin, Argyrichus, and the Melipezzi or Malapezzai, to name only the better-known members of the most famous families of the capital city, let alone those of other cities, of the katepanate in the first half of the eleventh century. By means of intrigue or arms, and irrespective of existing alliances, all tried to defend the interests of their clans, against the Normans or against the Byzantines; these interests being the economic position which the clans had reached.<sup>34</sup> The *homo oeconomicus* emerged from the *homo politicus*. This, then, is one panel of the diptych which it is my purpose to describe in this paper.

The second panel represents the *homo spiritualis*. His characteristic features are known almost in their entirety. I shall endeavor to approach him by way of his script, since this is his richest mode of expression. Through the

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Appendix III, p. 108. The sources are listed by A. Petrucci, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, IV (Rome, 1962), s.v. "Argiro," and by Vera von Falkenhäusen, *Untersuchungen*, 93-94. The biographical note compiled by Du Cange, *Historia byzantina* (Paris, 1680), 156-58, is of little use, since the author has no knowledge of the notary acts relating to this, and does not examine the narrative sources critically enough.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 27.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Appendix IV, p. 109.

<sup>32</sup> Ed. A. Pertusi, "Venezia e Bisanzio nel secolo XI," in *La Venezia del Mille* (Florence, 1965), 155-60 (= Fr. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 781). This is actually how I believe we should understand the passage of this text in poor Latin, which is always misinterpreted: . . . *non licere Amalfitanos, Judeos, Longobardos de civitate Bari et aliorum [Longobardorum], sed solum*, etc. It refers, of course, to merchants of the Longobardian theme departing from Bari and other ports of the same Byzantine theme.

<sup>33</sup> *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon* (as in note 3 *supra*), 153: Πέτρος τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ?

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Lupus Protospatharius, ed. G. H. Pertz, in MGH, SS, V (Hannover, 1844), 60; *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, 152-53; Amato di Montecassino, ed. de Bartholomaeis, 248-55; Guillaume de Pouille, ed. Mathieu, Book III, verses 111-31, p. 170.

study of the manuscripts we recognize the existence of four centers of calligraphy in the south of Italy; leaving aside the Campanian manuscripts, during the tenth and eleventh centuries we find one style of writing in eastern Calabria and inland, another along the west coast, from Reggio to Gaeta, a third, Greco-Lombardian, in Cosenza and Capua, and finally one in Otranto, at the end of the eleventh century, that is, after the departure of the Byzantine administration. Furthermore, the existence of models from the Constantinopolitan monastery of Studios during that same period has been recognized. Thus, we have diversified centers of writing, and also the direct influence of a monastic scriptorium of the capital of the Empire.<sup>35</sup> The writing of archival documents has not yet been investigated; I shall say only that it must be divided into two large classes: the first is the series of administrative documents, acts of lay or ecclesiastical functionaries, which follow the style used by the central administration, and for this reason the fragment of the Reggio *brebion* has a script similar to that of the cadastral survey of Thebes, even down to technical abbreviations.<sup>36</sup> The second class is that of non-official writings, more varied, of which I am unable, for the time being, to make any use. As for the epigraphy, it has not so far been studied.<sup>37</sup>

An investigation of the contents of the manuscripts allows us to understand several facts relating to the taste of a population that read, wrote, and listened to what was read. The identification of manuscripts listed in the inventories of mediaeval or modern libraries has enabled me to establish the following proportions for works written in South Italy during the Middle Ages:

- 77 percent, liturgical books
- 7 percent, the works of Basil the Great and John Chrysostom
- 7 percent, the works of Gregory of Nazianzus, Andrew of Crete, Theodore the Studite, Symeon Metaphrastes, and *Paterika*
- 2 percent, Lives of saints
- 2 percent, the works of Ephraim the Syrian and John of Damascus
- 2 percent, canonical texts, the Pandects of Antiochos of Saint Sabas, the works of Theophylact of Bulgaria, Christopher of Mitylene, Anastasios of Mount Sinai, Maximos the Confessor, Gregory of Nyssa, Mark the Hermit, Cyril of Jerusalem, the *Lausiac History* of Palladios, and an author of a later period, "Theophanes Kerameus" (Philagathus of Cerami)
- 3 percent, secular works divided as follows:
  - 2 percent, studies of grammar and lexicography (Dionysios the Thracian, Julius Pollux, two Pseudo-Cyril, one anonymous lexicon of the Iliad), and one collection of grammatical exercises
  - 1 percent, copies of ancient authors (two Homers, one Euripides, two Galens, a collection of medical precepts of various authors)

<sup>35</sup> Cf. R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, ST, 183 (Vatican City, 1955), 27-36; J. Irigoin, "L'Italie méridionale et la traduction des textes antiques," *JÖB*, 18 (1969), 37-38.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Guillou, *Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Région*, 3-4 and illustrations pp. 205-30.

<sup>37</sup> I have recently completed collecting the photographs and descriptions of the inscriptions.

[Alexander of Tralles, Paul of Egina, Galen, and so on]), one copy of the *Iatrika* of Aetios of Amida, two compilations of minor scholia of the Iliad, one anonymous commentary on the *Analytica* and the *De interpretatione* of Aristotle, and another commentary on Hermogenes' *Rhetoric*, one *Physiologus* and one Bestiary. In this last one percent we also have two legislative compilations and an unidentified chronicle.

That the copying of liturgical books was very extensive is not surprising, and has nothing to do with the monastic origin of the preserved manuscripts in a culture in which faith was considered even by the ruling classes themselves as the essential bond of cohesion. I found also, again not surprisingly, that in these libraries the basic collection consisted of the works of the Fathers of the Orthodox Church—the classics of this culture—then of the edifying tales of the *Paterika* and of Metaphrastes which must have been the daily nourishment of the communities. I noted in particular the total absence (with the single exception of the *Homilies* of the twelfth-century "Theophanes Kerameus") of any Greek work of Western origin, and the rarity of copies of Latin hagiographic texts translated into Greek either recently or at an earlier time (the *Life* of St. Apollinaris of Ravenna and the story of the miracle of St. Michael on Gargano). I also noted the relatively large number of manuscripts of Theodore the Studite (more of these than of Gregory of Nazianzus, of the *Paterika*, of Andrew of Crete, and far more than of John Climacus).

If we move from the level of copy to that of original works—although the number of preserved works is small—we see that these are all religious in inspiration. We find, first of all, the Lives of local saints, some of which have remarkable literary quality, like the *Life* of St. Nilus, those of St. Peter the Westerner of Tauriana and St. Bartholomew of Grottaferrata, and some are written in a more popular style, like the *Lives* of SS. Christopher, Sabas, and Macarios, written in Calabria by Orestes, later patriarch of Jerusalem. I should like to emphasize this difference in tone between the local hagiographers and an immigrant like Orestes, who probably came from Egypt. There are also hymnographic works: those of Mark of Otranto, of the ninth century, are excellent, but he was an oriental; those of Nilus of Rossano and of poets of the school of Grottaferrata (Paul, Bartholomew, Leontius, Lucas), of Orestes of Jerusalem, of Stephen are all of good quality. The hagiographers celebrated local or Western saints (St. Benedict, for instance), while the hymnographers borrowed from the usual arsenal of Byzantine hymnographic production (John Damascene, Cosmas, Andrew of Crete, Germanos of Constantinople).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. C. Giannelli, "L'ultimo ellenismo nell'Italia meridionale," *Atti del 3º Congresso internazionale di Studi sull'alto medioevo*, 1956 (Spoleto, 1959), 275–98 (= *Scripta minora*, SBN, 10 [1963], 307–27); A. Pertusi, "Aspetti organizzativi e culturali dell'ambiente monacale greco dell'Italia meridionale," in *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI–XII* (= *Atti della 2ª settimana di studio*, Mendola, 1962), Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi medievali, 4 (Milan, 1965), 411–16.

This production, which I must call "literary" even though the word has here a meaning completely different from that with which we are familiar through our classical education, is equal in quality to that of any average work of the capital. In its inspiration it derives in part from the same sources and follows precisely the same evolution: the cohabitation of works such as those of Theodore the Studite with the products of the secular encyclopaedism of the capital in the tenth century, which were copied at the same time, is very significant. Constantinople is there, very much present; whereas the role of the locale is restricted. Investigation in the liturgy will lead to the same conclusion: church language in South Italy during the tenth and eleventh centuries was the language of Constantinople; it was no longer, as during the time of the first colonization from the sixth to the seventh century, the language of the great cultural centers of the southeastern provinces, which had passed under Arab domination.<sup>39</sup> The production we are discussing, on the other hand, seems to have been quite impervious to Western influences; no bilingual manuscript exists prior to the eleventh century, even though some churches (like Bari) followed the Latin liturgy and kept written documents of it,<sup>40</sup> and some areas in southern Calabria had a population with a considerable admixture of Arabs.<sup>41</sup>

One last type of production completes and defines the cultural picture that has been emerging: I refer to inscriptions on stone. Of the twenty or so inscriptions preserved from the tenth and eleventh centuries, the most elegant are those from Bari and Reggio, both capital cities. Two among them are valuable evidence for the present enquiry; they are both in verse, one of fifteen, the other of twelve iambic dodecasyllables, carefully carved in local stone. One celebrates the works executed in the *praitorion* of Bari by Basilios Argyros Mesardonites, a descendant, through his grandmother, of the imperial family of the Lecapeni; it must have been set up at that very place, in a conspicuous position.<sup>41</sup> The second inscription, badly published and also misunderstood, is more interesting in content. It reads:

You who willingly resigned yourself to be ignored  
 Know yourself also and learn that lowly nature  
 Is linked with her own dissolution.  
 And as the splendor and the magnificence of life  
 End in the grave and finish in ashes,  
 Why, unfortunate one, did you pride yourself, since you are dust?  
 Did you think that you would not die?"<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the book of A. Jacob, the best specialist in this field, in press.

<sup>40</sup> I am thinking of the old Exultet Roll and the two Latin calendars of the 11th century, for which see A. Guillou, *Aspetti della civiltà bizantina in Italia. Società e cultura (sec. VI–XV)* (Bari, 1975), in press.

<sup>41</sup> A. Guillou, "Un document sur le gouvernement de la province. L'inscription historique en vers de Bari (1011)," in *Studies on Byzantine Italy*, VIII, 1–22.

<sup>42</sup> Bari, Cathedral, behind the main altar, at the foot of the old episcopal throne, seven dodekasyllables engraved on a white marble slab (158 × 46 cm.; height of the letters 3–5 cm.; spacing between lines 3–5 cm.). F. Babudri, "Di una singolare iscrizione greca nella cattedrale di Bari," *Japigia* (1936),

It is an apostrophe of Platonic inspiration and language addressed to a woman, or to the soul of the reader, and it must have stood, I believe, in a monastery of some consequence.

Whether or not these two poems were originally composed in Bari, they were carved there, and certainly for a public of no mean culture.

This completes our two outlines: the first, economic and social, shows an expansion and urbanization directed by rich archons; the second, intellectual or literary, can be viewed as a remote and modest reflection of themes originating in the capital. The bonds with Constantinople are notable here, in a province where the economic and social structures have already acquired characteristics of their own. An important part of the commercial traffic is to Arab Sicily, and the money used is the gold *tarion*, not Byzantine currency.<sup>43</sup> Thus, a choice between Sicily and Byzantium was possible, probably because part of the country's wealth passed through the Longobardian towns facing the Byzantine Empire. The functionaries of high rank came from Constantinople, members of the great local families went to Constantinople, Greek or Oriental administrators settled in the south of Italy, and laymen or monks from Italy went to the Peloponnese, to Thebes, to Thessalonika, as a constant coming and going of the leaders took place. And here we come upon an important point—the mobility of the ruling élite, which explains, for instance, why some of its eminent members, native archons, emigrate to the Empire after having spent a few years under Norman domination.<sup>44</sup>

Is this élite responsible for the level of civilization represented by the preserved written production? Undoubtedly, both from the economic point of view and in general, since I hardly need explain that the purchase of manuscripts to be copied, the acquisition of materials, and the necessary technical training presuppose a relatively favorable economic situation. But one must distinguish between the social-economic dependence of this production and its ideological dependence. The bulk of it, in a mediaeval orthodox milieu, was meant for ordinary consumption, and the large quantity of preserved manuscripts of ecclesiastical content alone proves that there was, indeed, a

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127–46 (= B), interprets it, strangely enough, as an address to the bishop! I give here a first transcription, which I made on the spot. It will be included in the corpus that I am preparing:

- 1 Έκο]υσίως στέρξασα τήν άγνωσίαν  
 Καί γινώθι σαυτήν καί δίδασκε τήν φύσιν  
 \*Ατ] υφον είναι τή φθορά συνημμένην.  
 5 Εί γάρ τά λαμπρά καί τά σεμνά τοῦ βίου  
 Εἰς] χούν καταντᾶ καί τελευτᾶ πρὸς τέφραν,  
 Πῶς ἐφρόνεις τάλαινα τή τέφρα μέγα,  
 \*Ωου δέ σαυτήν ὥσπερ οὐ θανουμένην;

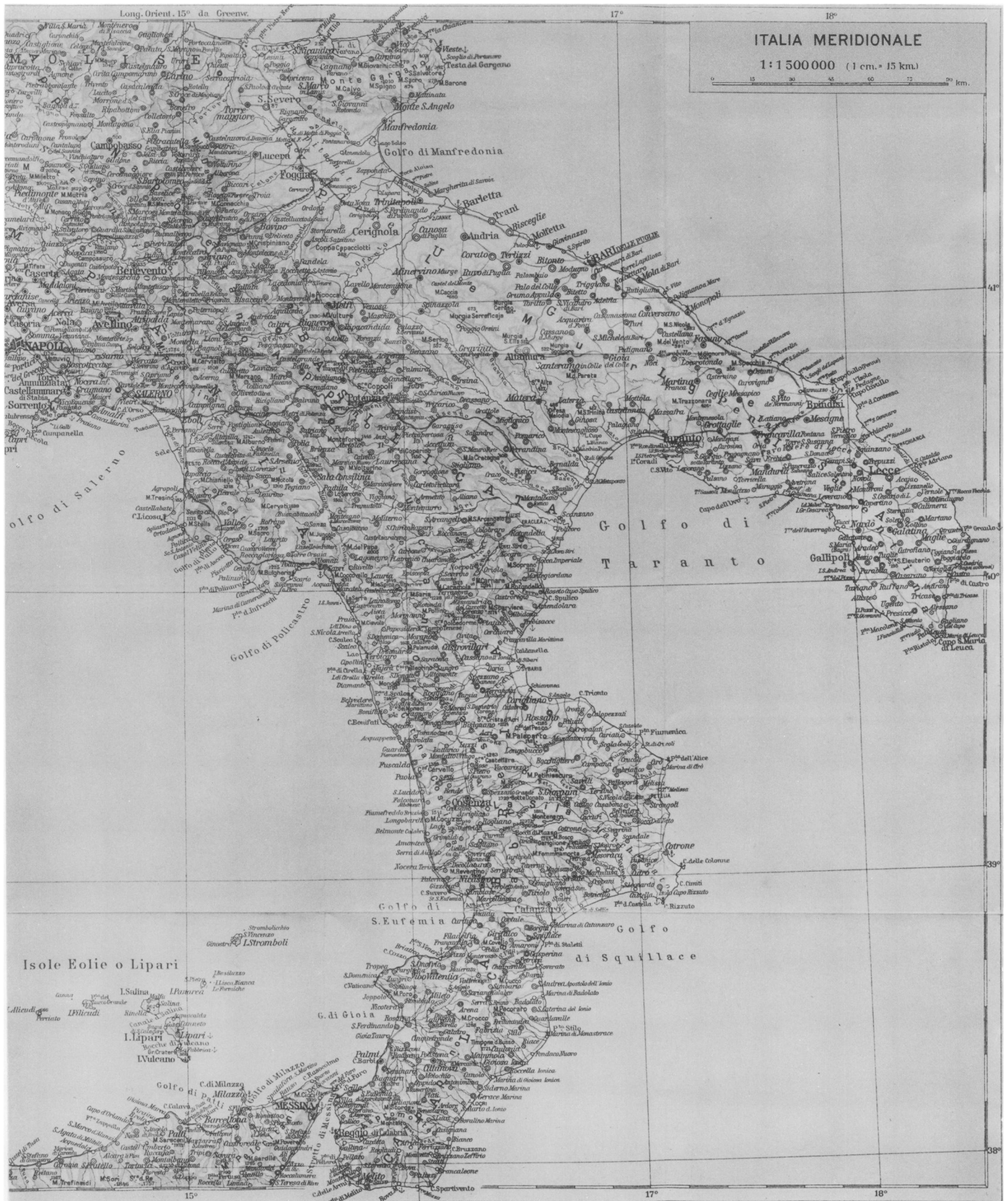
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5. Εἰς χούν: ἐσχ' οὖν B || 7. \*Ωου δέ: ὦ οὐδέ B

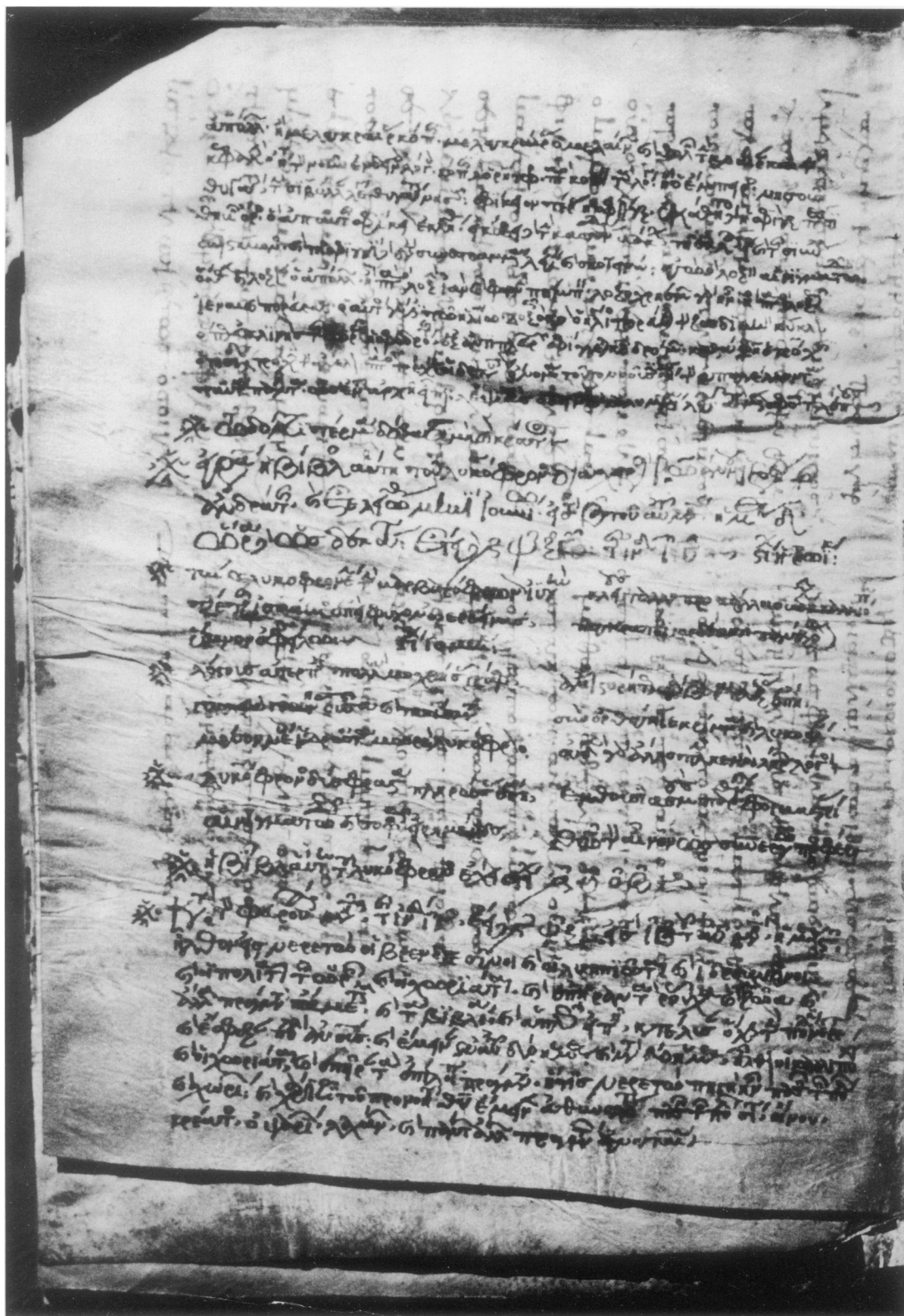
<sup>43</sup> Cf., for instance, the Reggio brebion, ed. Guillou, *passim*, and "L'Italie byzantine" (note 19 *supra*).

<sup>44</sup> A well-known example is that of Abelard, who, after having acted as an intermediary between Alexius I Comnenus and Henry IV in Apulia, elected to go into exile to the Byzantine Empire (Guillaume de Pouille, ed. Mathieu, 34). Argyrichus, a Greek of Bari, who sided with the Normans in 1071, ten years later expatriated to Serbia (Lupus Protospatharius [note 34 *supra*], 60).





1. Map of Southern Italy, including Area of Byzantine Province



2. Madrid, Codex Scorial. R I 18 (gr. 18), fol. 101

very abundant supply. It remains to be seen which kind of literature the city archons themselves read or subsidized; a few examples of this category may perhaps be identified in the copies of such secular works as I have mentioned above—philological or medical works and juridical collections<sup>45</sup> which reflect Constantinopolitan fashions—as well as in the two metrical inscriptions.

It is a limited luxury production, because during the eleventh century profits were still concentrated in a few hands, and the artistic production could not alter the situation. It would take another two generations before the ruling class formed a relatively large public; but it was only under another political government, that of the Normans, that this was to happen.

## APPENDIX I

## CORN AND OIL PRODUCTION IN BYZANTINE ITALY

*Life of St. Nilus of Rossano* (†1004) (compiled in the first part of the eleventh century), ed. G. Giovanelli (Grottaferrata, 1972) (= G), from a manuscript of the twelfth century at Grottaferrata (= Cod.).

- p. 87 . . . Τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐργαζομένων καὶ κυλιόντων τὰ κεκαυμένα δένδρα πρὸς τὸ ἀνοῖξαι καὶ ποιῆσαι χώραν σιτοφόρον ἀντὶ ξυλοφόρου, εἶπε τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τῷ οἰκείῳ θεράποντι . . . .
- p. 88/89 Ἴνα δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν γηϊνῶν προσπαθείας αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάξῃ καὶ παιδεύσῃ
- 5 αὐτοὺς προτιμᾶν τὴν ὑπακοὴν καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ζωῆς, ἄλλο πεποίηκε καὶ αὐτὸ μνήμης ἄξιον. Ἔθως ἦν τῷ μακαρίῳ ἐξ ἀρετῆς κτηθὲν οὐκ ἐκ φύσεως τὸ ἐν παντὶ πράγματι ἑαυτὸν ἐπιμέμφεσθαι. Ὅθεν πολλάκις ἐν ἑαυτῷ λογιζόμενος τὴν τῆς ἡσυχίας γλυκύτητα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀκτημοσύνης ἀμέριμον καὶ ὅτι ὁ καθήμενος μετὰ ἀδελφῶν ἀγωνιστῆς εἰς ἀρετὴν οὐ προκόπτει,
- 10 βίβλα δὲ μὴ καὶ ὑστερήσῃ· ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμούμενος ἐδυσχέραινε σφόδρα τῇ τῶν πολλῶν συνοικήσει καὶ ἤχθετο μέχρι καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν συντυχίας ὡς ἐμποδίζουσης αὐτὸν τῆς κατὰ νοῦν θεωρίας καὶ τῆς ἐνδοθεν κρυπτῆς ἐργασίας, ἧς μόνοι πεπείρανται οἱ περὶ Ἀντώνιον καὶ Ἀρσένιον καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Κολοβὸν τοὺς θεοφόρους Πατέρας. Τούτοις τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀντίεισθετο
- 15 τὸ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου· “Μηδεὶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ζητεῖτω, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν, ἵνα σωθῶσιν”. Ἔδοξε τοίνυν αὐτῷ πειράσαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τινι παραλόγου ἐπιταγῆς πράγματι, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀδιακρίτως καὶ ἀπολυπραγμόνως συγκαταθήσονται, αἰρήσασθαι τὴν συνοίκησιν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν οὕτω δυναμένων σωθῆναι, κάκῃον τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν φυλάξαι, εἰ δέ τι γένηται τούναντίον, τὴν
- 20 ἀναχώρησιν προτιμῆσαι. Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐωθινῆς ὑμνωδίας ἐν μιᾷ τελευθείσης καὶ πάντων συνηθροισμένων λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ μέγας· “Πολούως ἀμπελῶνας πεφυτεύκαμεν, ὦ πατέρες, καὶ τοῦτο λογίζεται ἡμῖν ὡς πλεονεξία, διότι πλέον τῆς χρείας ἡμῶν ὑπεκτεσάμεθα. Δεῦτε κόψωμεν ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἐάσωμεν εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸ αὐτάρκες”.

4. αὐτοὺς: ἑαυτοὺς G || 20. οὖν missing in G

<sup>45</sup> Cf. A. Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio*, Fondazione G. Cini, Centro di cultura e civiltà (Venice–Rome, 1964), 482–83, 487–89.

- 25 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι συγκατέθεντο, ἄρας τὸν πέλεκυν ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον αὐτοῦ, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ κάλλιον καὶ εὐφορώτερον μέρος τοῦ ἀμπελῶ-  
 νος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅπαντες ἠκολούθησαν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ ἐν ῥῆμα καὶ  
 μόνον μὴ ῥήξαντες, καὶ οὐκ εἶπον ὅτι “Ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐμάνη, οὐκ οἶδεν τί  
 ποιεῖ, τοῦτο ποτε οὔτε ἐφάνη οὔτε ἠκούσθη”· ἀλλὰ εὐχῆς γενομένης ἤρ-  
 30 ξαντο κόπτειν ἀπὸ πρῶτῃ ἕως τῆς τρίτης ὥρας. Τότε γνοὺς ὁ πατήρ τὴν τῶν  
 τέκνων ὑπακοήν ἀμιλληθεῖσαν τοῖς πάλαι ἱστορουμένοις δέδωκε τῷ Θεῷ  
 δεξιὰς μηδὲν αὐτῶν προτιμῆσαι ἕως ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς. Τούτου οὖν τοῦ  
 ἔργου περιφήμου γεγονότος καὶ ἕως αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους καὶ ἕως τῆς  
 35 Σικελίας οὐδεὶς ἠδυνήθη καταλαβέσθαι τοῦ πράγματος τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀλλ’ οἱ  
 μὲν ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ μοναχοὶ ἐμεθύσθησαν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι ὁ πατήρ ἐθυμώθη καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο ἐποίησε τοῦτο, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅτι πολλὰ ὄντα καμῖν αὐτὰ οὐκ ἴσχυον.  
 Καὶ τοῦτο οὐ θαυμαστὸν ὅπουγε οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ οἱ συγκόψαντες εἶδον δι’ οὗ  
 ἔκοψαν εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ὁ μέγας οἷς ἡβουλήθη τὸ μυστήριον ἀπεκάλυψεν.

28. οἶδεν: οἶδε G

## APPENDIX II

### BRIGANDAGE AMONG THE CITIES OF THE THEME OF LONGOBARDIA (February 1045)

Cod. Scorial. R I 18 (gr. 18), fol. 101<sup>v</sup> (fig. 2), preserves in palimpsest, after a transcription of the *Alexandra* of Lycophron made by a priest, John of Andrano (a municipality in the province of Lecce, between Brindisi and Otranto), in 1255,<sup>46</sup> and by the same hand, the text of an event which until now had remained unknown to historians. This text had been incompletely and insufficiently edited by P. A. Revilla, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la biblioteca de El Escorial*, I (Madrid, 1936), 67 (= R in the apparatus below). The edition that follows was done from photographs furnished to me by the Rev. Frs. J. Darrouzès and J. Paramelle, to whom I wish to express here my gratitude.

TRANSLATION: Tuesday, February 12, 6553 (= 1045), indiction 13, the inhabitants of the cities of Brindisi,<sup>47</sup> Lecce,<sup>48</sup> Otranto,<sup>49</sup> Oria,<sup>50</sup> and their rural communes came to Nardo;<sup>51</sup> there they took a large quantity of cloths, cattle, and other goods, and also books; in short, they devastated the whole town of Nardo and killed many of its inhabitants; they remained there two days. After the two days, the people from the city of Gallipoli<sup>52</sup> and its rural communes

<sup>46</sup> Revilla read τοῦ Ἀνδράτου instead of τῆς Ἀνδράτης, which is very clear in the manuscript; but I have no knowledge of any toponym Andrata in Southern Italy. The chronicle transcribed subsequently by the same scribe could not have been written anywhere but in Apulia; for this reason I am inclined to think of Andrano (a small town in the parish of Poggiardo, located at about 10 km. south of Otranto), which is close to the toponyms mentioned in our text.

<sup>47</sup> Capital of the province of the same name, located over 60 km. northeast of Nardo.

<sup>48</sup> Capital of the province of the same name, located 40 km. south of Brindisi and 20 km. northeast of Nardo.

<sup>49</sup> Commune in the province of Lecce, about 40 km. southeast of Lecce, and the same distance of Nardo.

<sup>50</sup> Commune in the province of Brindisi, between Brindisi and Taranto.

<sup>51</sup> Commune in the province of Lecce, on the western side of Apulia.

<sup>52</sup> Commune in the province of Lecce, located 20 km. southwest of Nardo.

arrived and took all that was left. Nardo, which was the source of supplies of all the cities and their rural communes, has remained, thanks to divine Providence, the most wealthy in wheat, wine, meat, fish, vegetables, and all other produce.

REMARKS: The date, as it is transcribed in the manuscript—ind. 13, year of the world 6563 (= 1055), February 12, Friday—presents two discrepancies between its elements: February 12, 1055 was in an indiction 8 and was a Sunday. The year 1055 does not accord with the event related because it belongs to a period of new servitude (that under the Norman counts) and of serious disorders for three of the five cities mentioned in the text: Lecce was sacked and occupied by a unit of Varangians in December 1047<sup>53</sup> or 1048,<sup>54</sup> Otranto was captured by a Norman count, possibly named Robert, who could be the nephew of Guiscard, Robert of Montescaglioso,<sup>55</sup> in 1055,<sup>56</sup> and Nardo was captured by count Geoffrey in the same year and at the same time as Diso, southwest of Otranto.<sup>57</sup> We, then, must start with indiction 13 and change the year of the world to 6553 by correcting the ξ for 60, which the scribe had just written to indicate the date at which he had made his copy of Lycophron (ζφξγ'), to ν (= 50). The ζ' indicating the day of the week should also be rectified, for February 12, 1045 falls on a Tuesday (= γ'). Both corrections could be made with a clear conscience, since several elements of the date have been corrected and amended probably by the author of the text himself. And the political situation of the cities mentioned in this text, all of which pass under the jurisdiction of a Norman count around the middle of the century, excludes any likelihood of a later date, 1075, for example, which would agree with indiction 13. Consequently, I retain for the event recounted in this text the date of Tuesday, February 12, 1045.

- 1 Κατὰ τὸν Φεβρουάριον μῆνα τῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος ιγ' ἔτει δὲ ζφνγ' εἰς τὴν ιβ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἡμέραν γ' ἦλθον εἰς Νερετὸ οἱ Βρενδεσίνοι καὶ οἱ Λυππιῶται καὶ Ἰδρουντίνοι καὶ οἱ πολῖται τῆς Ὠρης καὶ οἱ χωριᾶται καὶ ἐπῆραν τὰ ροῦχα καὶ τὰ ζῶα καὶ ἄλλα πράγματα ἄμετρα καὶ τὰ βιβλία καὶ ἀπλῶς
- 5 εἰπεῖν κατέλυσαν ὅλην τὴν πόλιν Νερετὸ καὶ ἔσφαξαν πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἔμειναν ἐν αὐτῇ δύο ἡμέρας · καὶ μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἦλθον οἱ Καλλιπολίται καὶ οἱ χωριᾶται καὶ ἐπῆραν τὰ ἐπίλοιπα πράγματα. Ἦτις Νερετὸ πηγὴ ἦν πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ χωρίων καί, χάριτι τοῦ προνοητοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔμεινεν εὐθηνότερα πασῶν τῶν πόλεων σίτου, οἴνου, κρέατος, ὀψαρίων, λαχάνων
- 10 καὶ πάντων ἄλλων πραγμάτων ἀναγκαίων.

1. ζφνγ': ζφξγ' Cod. et R || 2. γ': ζ' Cod. et R || Νερετὸ: Νερετὼ Cod. et R || 3. τῆς Ὠρης: τῶν Ὀρῶν R || 4–9. From βιβλία to οἴνου, five lines difficult to decipher, om. R || 9. ὀψαρίων: ὀψαρίου R || λαχάνων: λαχάνου R || 10. ἀναγκαίων om. R

<sup>53</sup> Lupus Protospatharius, ed. Pertz (as in note 34 *supra*), 59.

<sup>54</sup> *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon* (as in note 3 *supra*), 151

<sup>55</sup> Kekaumenos, *Στρατηγικόν*, ed. G. G. Litavrin (Moscow, 1972), 176.

<sup>56</sup> *Chronicon breve Northmannicum*, PL, 149, col. 1084.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

## APPENDIX III

A LEADING FAMILY OF THE ITALIAN KATEPANATE:  
MELES AND HIS SON ARGYROS (eleventh century)

## I — MELES

- Latin, born in Bari (theme of Longobardia).  
*Dynastes* (Kedrenos), dresses according to Greek fashion.  
 Wife named Maralda, son named Argyros (see II *infra*).
- Leads rebellion of the cities of the theme of Longobardia, 1009–1011 and 1017–1018; fails and takes refuge in Germany († Bamberg, April 23, 1020).

## II — ARGYROS O MELES (hypothesis of adoption by Basil Argyros unnecessary).

- 1011 A. and his mother Maralda deported to Constantinople by the katepan of Italy.
- 1029 A. returns to Bari with his family.
- 1040 Political disorders in the theme. Attitude of A. at first not very clear. A. openly sides with the katepan Michael Dokeianos. Defeats of Dokeianos by the Normans. A. takes hold of Bari.
- 1042 February. Elected “prince and duke of Italy” by the Norman bands of Troia and the inhabitants of Bari (= militia). Takes Giovinazzo; lays siege to Trani (always pro-Byzantine). Receives from Constantinople the titles of *patrikios* and *vestes*. Sides with Byzantium; returns to Bari; expels the Normans (August–September).
- 1045/1046 Called to Constantinople; departs with his family and a certain Chageas. Appointed *strategos* of Paphlagonia.<sup>58</sup>
- 1047 Takes part in the repression of Tornikios’ rebellion. Confidant of Constantine Monomachos. Opposes Michael Keroularios.
- 1051 Appointed *magistros* and duke of Italy. Leads the revolt of the Longobardian cities against the Normans. Appeals to the Pope for help (defeated at Civitate); Defeat of A. = failure of the alliance Rome–Germans–A. against the Normans. Keroularios leads campaign against Rome and A. A. negotiates with Henry III (May 1054) for military assistance.
- 1054 July. Schism between Rome and Constantinople; the son and son-in-law of A., who are in Constantinople, are imprisoned.
- 1055 A. called back to Constantinople with the archbishop of Bari, Nicholas, by Theodora (= Keroularios).
- 1057 A. returns to Bari. Becomes “oblate” of the imperial German anti-Rome monastery of St. Mary of Farfa, northeast of Rome (during a stay there, by means of a donation of 3000 nomismata). Directs negotiations between Rome and Constantinople; embassy is established, but Pope dies (March 1058). A. goes alone to Constantinople (May 1058), but the new Pope negotiates with the Normans.
- 1060/1061 Marules new katepan.
- 1068 Death of A. He has the title of *proedros*. Where does he die? Possibly in Italy (Bari?) since, before dying, he gives to Farfa 6,000 n. and the silk coat threaded with gold, symbol of his office, valued at “100 librae of the purest silver.”<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> A. must have been governor of Paphlagonia before being appointed duke of Italy, since he signs “magistros, vestes, duke of Italy, Calabria, Sicily, and Paphlagonia”; consequently, before March 1051. A. signs all his acts in Greek, including his request to Farfa which he seals with a silver seal.

<sup>59</sup> A. is a typical example of local leaders, secure in their economic power, confident that they could achieve, in their own best interest, independence of action for Byzantine Italy between the Byzantine Empire, the Arabs, the German Empire, and the power of Rome.



APPENDIX IV

ARGYROS OBLATE OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. MARY OF FARFA

U. Balzani, *Il Chronicon Farfense di Gregorio di Catino*, vol. II, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, 34 (Rome, 1903), 202–3.

*Erat tunc temporis magne constantie et excellentie fidei sincere vir Argyros Grecus, magister, vestis et dux Italiae*; he hears of Farfa and its abbot Berard, writes pleading that the community pray for him and that he may become a member of the congregation (*sociari alme societati*).

a. 1057. Text of Argyros' letter to Farfa (the same text is reproduced in the regest publ. by I. Giorgi and U. Balzani, *Il regesto di Farfa compilato da Gregorio di Catino*, V, Biblioteca della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria [Rome, 1892], 238–39).

- 1 *En ego Argiro, Dei providentia magister, vestis, et dux Italiae, Calabriae, Siciliae, Paflagoniae, qui et Melis, commendo me et associor sancto monasterio beatissimae Dei Genitricis Mariae cognomento Farfae, et tibi domno abbati Berardo per omnia almfico, et cunctae sanctae congregationi sibi et tibi commissae, ut, dum*
- 5 *vivus fuero in hoc mortali saeculo, merear fieri particeps vestris sanctissimis meritis secundum splendidum scriptum quod michi peccatori et immerito famulo meaeque dominae et sanctissimae Dei genitricis Mariae virginis vestra dignata est dirigere pietas. Et ut vestris suffultus sacrosanctis orationibus et divina protectus clementia dignus fiam placere ibidem primitus utilibus moribus et postmodum terrenis opibus, quatinus post carnis vinculum postque domum luteam, Aelisei gaudiis*
- 10 *una vobiscum, mei fratres dilectissimi et domini, congaudere merear per infinita saeculorum saecula. Amen. Et ut cuncti praesentes et futuri cognoscatis me congrua voluntate placidoque corpore vel animo placuisse michi peccatori et confratri vestro talia peragere, pro absolutione meorum plurimorum scelerum et salvatione meae animae propriis meis subscripsi laetanter manibus, et bullare fecimus*
- 15 *vulla argentea, anno millesimo L redemptionis nostrae assumptae carnis dominicae VII<sup>o</sup>.*  
*+ αργυρος προνοια Θυ μαγιστρος βεστης κηδυξ ιταλιας κη καλαβριας σικελιας κη παφληγονιας ομηλις ταπρογεγραμμενα βεβηων κη δυλων εματον*
- 20 *τιδεσποινη κη αγιθηκω μαρια τη εητη αγεμονη της φαρφου Διατριχον παραδισυς οικεοκηρωσ υπεγραψα.*  
*Argiros pronia Theu magistros bestis kedux Italias Calabrias Sikelias ke Paflagonias omelis ta progegrammena bebeon ke dulon ematon ti despini ke agia Theotoko Maria tienti agemoni tis Farfu diatrichon paradidus ikeocheiros*
- 25 *ypēgraphsa.*

The chronicler then continues: *Hic vero vir magnificus cum hujus vite terminum sibi cerneret imminere, direxit ad hanc ecclesiam . . . videlicet bisantos sex milia et mantum pretiosum holosericum auroque textum, quod erat preclara vestis honoris sui, que amplius valere ferebatur quam centum libras argenti purissimi. Nam, quando hujus societatem et fraternitatem suscepit congregationis, bisantos tria milia huic ecclesie mandavit.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Petrucci, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, s.v. "Argiro"; Vera von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen*, 93–94, 190, no. 69 (who proposes the reading *vulla aurea*!).